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The Anti-Imperialist League

Apologia Pro Vita Sua

By

ERVING WINSLOW

Secretary



Published by the
ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE
20 Central Street
BOSTON

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ET13
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obstruct autonomy, produce excitement, and most probably demonstration. Ask that it is not done till they can get instructions from Madrid and say that if for friendly purpose, as claimed, delay unimportant." The Maine was sent despite these protests.

In regard to the blowing up of the Maine, which was the subject of an *ex parte* inquiry by officials of the United States, the League has in its archives evidence from divers, who were not allowed to appear before the Court, that the explosion took place in the forward magazine, that what was considered the "upbent" bottom of the ship was really her protective deck, and that the condition of things under the wreck made it impossible that there should have been an external explosion. Under the circumstances, the refusal of the authorities of the United States to allow the raising of the wreck is unfortunate while repeated efforts have been made by private parties to obtain permission to do so,—one member of the League having offered five hundred thousand dollars for this purpose.

A duly authenticated record exists of the fact that arrangements were made for Aguinaldo's return to the Philippine Islands April 24, 1898, with the virtual assurance of representatives of the United States that if his alliance, with the large portion of the Filipino people who acknowledged his leadership, should result in the conquest of the Islands, it would be followed by their independence. The alliance was recognized by General Anderson then in command there, and there was no protest against Aguinaldo's course in proclaiming the Filipino Republic July 3, 1898.

A protocol of agreement preliminary to a treaty of peace was signed at Washington August 12, 1898. This protocol stipulated that the hostilities between the two countries should be suspended and that the United States should "occupy and hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines." The treaty of peace was not concluded or ratified until February 6, 1899, yet the League has testified to the fact that on December 21, 1898, Pres-

ident McKinley ordered the extension of the United States sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, and military and naval operations were thereupon instituted. This flagrant outrage has been the subject of some of the League's most notable publications.

It was the painful duty of the League to expose the "marked severities" inflicted by the United States troops upon the Filipinos during the progress of the war of subjugation, said to be terminated by General McArthur July 4, 1901, and for a long subsequent period. The work of the League in this direction, which is very thoroughly substantiated, was made very difficult by the efforts of the Secretary of War to whitewash the proceedings in the army. The blame for the individual exercise of brutal conduct was not attributed so much to the persons perpetrating it as to the conditions in which they had been placed by their superiors, yet loyal citizens of this country fully supported the League in its contention that the army should be purged of those who committed such excesses.

The unsuccessful efforts at peace negotiations by the Filipinos, so haughtily rejected, were given wide publicity, and the League's endeavors to induce the Filipinos to lay down their arms when their cause seemed hopeless will be properly appreciated as time goes on.

The dishonor of the means used to secure the capture of Aguinaldo was fully made known; aggravated, as it was, by every circumstance of treachery and ingratitude.

The "political conduct" of the war, in which it was openly acknowledged between the civil and military authorities in the Philippines that measures which were indispensable for the suppression of brigandage should be suspended before elections in the United States so that the assumed pacification of the Islands might not be discredited, has been duly noted.

The horrible methods of "reconcentration" which continued up to a period so late as the summer of 1906, the expulsion of men, women and children from their homes, herded together under rigid surveillance, exposed to all weathers and without proper food, have

been described. These Weyler methods, which contributed so largely to arouse the fiery indignation felt against the Spanish rule in Cuba, are enumerated in great detail in the League's publications.

The treaty with the Sultan of Jolo, made by General Baker August 20, 1899, which sanctioned for a time, at least, the continuance of human slavery in the Sultan's territory, was denounced, while the arrangements by Aguinaldo's government, as a member of which Mabini had planned for an extinction of this slavery through compensation, was contrasted therewith.

The League has not failed to point out the extravagance of the salaries paid to American officials of all grades out of taxes collected from the unfortunate Filipinos while their country was devastated by war and pestilence. Extravagant, too, have been outlays for public improvements, many of them only for the benefit of the official class. A scandalous illustration is the foundation of Baguio, a Philippine "Simla," with enormously costly surroundings and approaches. A few Filipinos have been given high salaried positions, but the large percentage of the Philippine employees which has been boastfully enumerated as an indication of the liberality of the government, are engaged in poorly paid subordinate employments which no American could be found to fill.

All along at critical periods it has been necessary to expose and to defeat as far as possible the persistent efforts to keep the people of the United States in the dark as to what was going on in the Philippine Islands by a censorship which not only applied to the Associated Press and to the newspapers, but was also exercised, as Mr. Atkinson asserted without contradiction, by tampering with the mails.

The vaunted liberty which has been given to the Filipinos has been circumscribed by unusual and severe sedition and libel laws. The League has not failed to point out the conditions of discontent and unrest thus demonstrated on the part of the people and the lack of confidence in the security of their position on the part of the

government. Any public exposure, even in private premises, of insignia of the Philippine Republic has been legally made an act of sedition. In the archipelago truth of a libel constitutes no defence for it.

In 1904, a large and influential petition which had the cordial sympathy of the League was presented to the national conventions of both the great parties, asking for the incorporation into their platforms of a demand for Philippine independence.

At a Congressional visit to the Philippines in the summer of 1905, a very strong effort was made to confine investigations and hearings before the Congressmen composing the visiting group to economic conditions. It was only through the efforts of a member of the League who then happened to be in the Philippine Islands, urged and enforced by Senator Patterson and Representative W. A. Jones, that two days' hearing was given to the pleas which the Filipinos wished to offer and which they did offer, individually and by representative delegations, in behalf of immediate independence. The record of this hearing, which took place in Marble Hall at Manila August 29 and 30, 1905, was published and widely distributed, constituting, as it did, a reasonable appeal for a national evolution under the controlling influence of the large class of intelligent and educated Filipinos competent to guide their countrymen towards a satisfactory and orderly government. In this connection the League pointed out the absurdity of the objections made to this course on account of possible delay and disorders in the adjustment, after the experience suffered by the Filipinos of benevolent assimilation by the United States which had cost them perhaps a million lives and the destruction of a great part of their property; and the opportunity was taken also to make clear the absurdity of insisting upon a democratic form of government and the instruction of a whole people in its principles, while some other form of government might probably be much better suited to their character and genius.

The irreconcilable racial prejudice of the American, far greater than that of the Spaniards, has controlled the relations between the

fullest liberty under an independent government and its disassociation from the foreign rule would probably restore to it a host of adherents.

Meanwhile, it is undoubtedly true that in their sphere the Protestant missions also suffer from a supposed identification with the authority of the United States government.

Strong opposition was made by the League and its friends in Congress to granting permanent railroad franchises. The immediate advantages supposed to be offered by them, in furnishing improved means of transport and communication, poorly compensate for the menace implied in grants of this character to the independence for which we contend.

With similar arguments some patriotic Filipinos have themselves opposed the reduction of the Philippine tariff unless accompanied by a promise of independence, to warn off the promoters whose individual gains would be increased by the removal of discriminating duties, though as they assert, there would be no advantage whatever gained by the people of the Islands at large. On the other hand, they do benefit by the remission now made to the Philippine treasury of the seventy-five per cent of the Dingley tariff collected on Philippine imports.

It has been the proper and very special work of the League to make known that, instead of a frothy agitation for independence at the beginning of the session of the Philippine Assembly which Mr. Taft had predicted, the body settled to its work with zeal and decorum and with admirable restraint and refrained till the very last day of the session from making its appeal through the mouth of Speaker Osmena in an address, impassioned indeed, but marked with the greatest earnestness and dignity. The action of the Assembly in voting an endorsement of this address was upheld all over the Islands by resolutions from pueblos, political clubs, and all kinds of organizations, and was supplemented by a similar eloquent address made at Lake Mohonk last autumn, by Senor Ocampo, resident commissioner of the Philippines.

foreigner and the native. We are thus confronted with another race problem in the East added to that which confronts us at home. The dread of this united to the League prominent southern publicists who could hardly have co-operated with our northern membership on any other question. Many teachers in the schools, devoted to their pupils as they may have been, acknowledge that they have never crossed the threshold of a Filipino household and reject the idea with indignation. The social abyss has only widened in the course of years.

We have exposed the very great weakness of the vaunted school system. Insistence upon the use of the English language has often given to the Filipino teachers the daily task of acquiring the means of expression for the lessons of the following day! It has been very difficult to secure competent teachers from the United States. Prominent among them is the gentleman who left his country for his country's good after fomenting a scheme for extracting gold from salt water! The Filipinos very largely prefer education in the church schools where religion is taught, while the United States sovereignty, which has been made to appear to the Roman Catholic voter at home as so friendly to his Church, is thus perforce opposed to one of its most cherished standards.

The religious question indeed has been most effectively treated by the League. It never should be brought into matters of politics but the necessary *rapprochement* between the United States authorities and the hierarchy, in order to bring about the payment for the friars' lands and for the use and injury of Church property, has been studiously made to appear by the administration as deserving the recognition and gratitude of the American Roman Catholic. Now that the money has been paid, it must be distinctly recognized, however, that any identification of the Roman Catholic Church with the United States sovereignty which might imply unfriendliness to the national cause is likely to increase the Aglipayan schism. The leaders of the Nationalist party, many of them devout Roman Catholics, have pledged themselves that the Church should have the

The League is now making an earnest, repeated demand for the passage of a resolution by Congress similar to the "Teller amendment" in the Cuban settlement, promising independence to the Filipinos, so that content and good order may be established in the Philippines and hopeful and legitimate progress be made toward the goal which is pointed out to them; the only real security for the fulfilment of the pledge "the Philippines for the Filipinos."

The League has circulated during the past decade, more than a million-and-a-half documents; it has promoted many public meetings and has furnished much matter to the press, and material for debates to members of the Congress and to the representatives of nearly a thousand organizations in colleges, lyceums and schools throughout the United States.

It is inexpedient to mention here the names of the many trustworthy and patriotic Philippine correspondents of the League, or of all the American visitors who have investigated for us and for others the conditions in the archipelago, separating themselves from official influence and thus penetrating to the heart of the matter. Testimony has been sought and given by such men as President Schurman, George Kennan, Professor Henry Loomis Nelson, Professor H. Parker Willis, Mr. W. J. Bryan, Dr. D. J. Doherty, Mr. Fiske Warren, Professor Frederick Starr, Senator Patterson, Representatives Shafroth, W. A. Jones, and many others.

Those who oppose the end which the Anti-Imperialists have in view may be divided into three classes, leaving aside that inert mass of our citizenship which accepts any existing conditions, not concerning their immediate well being, as inevitable and irremediable.

The first class, the altruists, are, of course, as out-spoken as they are sincere. They believe that roads and bridges, sewers and docks, schools and missions, are vital benefits which make the demand for independence superfluous and vain. Why liberty, when you have

bread and circuses? The things are done. What does it matter how or by whom they are done? The despot is benevolent. He points out with complacency the "cleaning up" to his subjects and to mankind! But, as Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne has recently said: "There are no places in the world so offensively and tragically clean as your prisons." Nothing can palliate the wrong we are doing to the Filipinos in hindering their own national development, however slow it might be, through whatever social and political disturbances it might be brought about. The foreign graft is abnormal and cannot be persistent. No foreign civilization was ever successfully imposed upon a people, and the longer the effort is made, the more certain and the more serious will be the upheaval which must follow when the nation claims its own rights.

Those who believe that the predominance of the United States as a world-power is secured by our possession of the Philippine Islands, include the bureaucracy, the army, and navy classes, whose views and whose ambitions do not make for peace and are not characterized by any breadth of statesmanship. The proper influence of the United States, moral, commercial and social, is unchallengeable and unchallenged. The only serious threat to it lies in the retention of the Philippine Islands and not in our withdrawal from them. National power has been always undermined and will ever be undermined by remote and alien colonial possessions, the easy spoil of an antagonist, ready as opportunity offers to turn against the sovereign who has kept them in chains.

The third class, the class of exploiters, does not make itself so much heard, but it is probable that its influence against the cause of justice is the strongest and most persistent. It can not be converted—it must be attacked and exposed, with its grasping efforts after land grants, concessions and franchises. No benefit can be derived to the country at large from "possessions," but, especially if they were included within the tariff wall of the United States, they may become profitable to the few capitalists who despoil the land of its wealth, ever clamorous (and often thus successful in

destroying a native population), for the introduction of coolie or contract labor, the returns from which will alone satisfy their greed. Against this class appeal can be confidently made to those home industries which would be menaced or destroyed by competition with the products of such labor.

The Anti-Imperialist League has faith to believe that in spite of all that has come and gone, Senator Hoar's prediction that the fall of the Republic would date from the seizure or purchase of the Philippine Islands may not be realized. As with an individual so with a nation, a new birth into righteousness may be accomplished through repentance and restitution. The atonement made in giving back their independence to the Philippine Islands might purge the United States from that treason to democracy into which it has been betrayed and from which it has suffered at home by the reaction of foreign imperialism, in the assumption by the Executive in the last few years that the end justifies the means, that any methods of procedure, however illegal and violent, may be taken to bring about the object of its desire.

The present programme of the Anti-Imperialists is simple and hopeful. With whatever degree of sincerity, independence is now found in the mouths of the responsible representatives of the Republican party, the President and the President-elect. The Anti-Imperialists must see that the hope of independence is preserved and strengthened; not betrayed by an idle use of the name, to quiet the agitation of the matter in the United States and in the Philippine Islands; they must demonstrate the inconsistency of Mr. Taft's suggestion that the Filipinos may prefer at the end of a considerable period a relation to the United States like that of Australia and Canada to Great Britain; they must expose the unfairness by which Mr. Roosevelt tries to prejudice the situation when he urges the desirability that the Filipinos at the end of a generation should choose "to continue under the protection of a strong and disinterested Power, able to guarantee to the Islands order at home and

protection from foreign invasion"; they must protest against all measures tending to the exploitation of the Islands by private selfish interests, which would crush out the native Filipino and render him as incapable of voicing his desires as are the Hawaiians today; they must endeavor to secure at the earliest possible date a congressional promise of independence which will produce tranquility in the Islands, warn off the speculator and vindicate the good faith of the vague encouragement now given to the Filipinos' undying desire for liberty, and the hope and confidence of the Anti-Imperialists for the restoration of the Republic to the principles of democracy.

Mr. Taft, it is well known, did not advocate the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, and as he has again recently asserted, he undertook the governorship only since certain conditions had already been established there and at the very strong urgency of President McKinley. It would be a magnificent personal triumph if the President-elect, recognizing the proofs of capacity for self-government which have been exhibited by the Filipinos, and yielding to the logic of events, should during his administration take advantage of the opportunity afforded the United States to set the world a wonderful example and to win the gratitude of our brown brothers across the sea, by urging and securing Congressional action to set them free, under the aegis of international neutralization. Who doubts that such a measure would be cordially welcomed by an overwhelming majority of his fellow citizens?

The Anti-Imperialist League

Apologia Pro Vita Sua

Ten years ago the Anti-Imperialist League was formed, with the immediate object of organizing an opposition to the ratification of the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, signed in Paris December 10, 1898.

This treaty was found chiefly objectionable in its third article: "Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands and comprehending the islands lying within the following line (then ensues a statement of boundaries). The United States will pay to Spain the sum of twenty million dollars within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty."

The opposition to the ratification of the treaty would have been successful, as a sufficient number of votes had been pledged to defeat it in the Senate, had not the outbreak occurred between the United States army and the Filipino forces February 4, 1899. The action on the ratification of the treaty took place according to assignment on the 6th of February, and two senators then changing their votes, as they stated on account of this outbreak, made it possible to pass the measure.

Since that time the Anti-Imperialists's labors have been devoted to ameliorating the conditions and making reparation for the wrongs caused by the colossal blunder or crime involved in the efforts to subdue and retain under the United States sovereignty a people who had substantially won their independence from the Spanish power with which the United States was at war, and it should be observed that our final conquest of Spain in the Islands

was won by the Filipinos and the army and navy of the United States, acting as allies.

Engaged in various phases of the movement have been a number of citizens of the United States of a quality and consideration never enlisted in opposition to the policies of any administration or series of administrations. Among those who have taken a more or less active part during the last decade in urging a promise or pledge of independence to the Philippine Islands have been:

Two ex-Presidents of the United States—Benjamin Harrison and Grover Cleveland;

Many former cabinet officers, including George S. Boutwell, John Sherman, John G. Carlisle, Hoke Smith, and Carl Schurz;

United States Senators, such as Edmunds, Hoar, Morrill, Wellington, Money, Bacon, Caffery, Henderson, Carmack, Pettigrew, Towne, Mason, Tillman, Newlands and Turner;

Governors of states, Larrabee, Lind, Boies, Pingree, Garvin, McCullough, and others;

Representatives McCall, Fleming, Burgess, Slayden, Williams, Clark, W. A. Jones, Lentz, Green, Shafrroth, Johnson, and many more;

Presidents of universities and colleges and a multitude of their officials, including Charles W. Eliot, Charles Eliot Norton, David Starr Jordan, Henry Wade Rogers, Edwin A. Alderman, George C. Chase, G. Stanley Hall, Henry Churchill King, W. G. Sumner, J. G. Schurman, W. H. P. Faunce, Alexander Agassiz, G. H. Palmer, F. W. Taussig, Jacques Loeb, W. T. Sedgwick;

Ecclesiastics by hundreds, as Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishops Ireland, Farley, Ryan, Bishops Potter, Spalding, McVickar, Williams, Hall, Conaty, Codman, Brewster, Huntington, Burgess, Whitehead, O'Connell, O'Donoghue, Beaven, Vinton, O'Reilley, McQuaid, and other clergy including Rev. Morgan Dix, T. L. Cuyler, C. H. Parkhurst, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, W. R. Huntington and E. W. Donald;

Chief justices of many states, judges, and lawyers; in their number George Gray, Wayne MacVeagh, Rufus B. Smith, Thomas M.

Shackleford, R. M. Morse, John H. Stiness, E. M. Shepard, Charles S. Hamlin, Moorfield Storey, Judson Harmon;

More than one hundred and fifty thousand citizens of the United States, reckoning among them Andrew Carnegie, Charles Francis Adams, J. J. Valentine, Felix Adler, George Foster Peabody, George F. Seward, Robert C. Ogden, Herbert Welsh, Robert Fulton Cutting, Jane Addams, Honore Palmer, Edwin Gould, William J. Palmer, Samuel L. Clemens, Edward Atkinson, E. Pretorius, Edwin Burritt Smith, Herman Von Holst, Patrick A. Collins, Horace White, William Dean Howells, H. B. Nicholas, R. W. Gilder, Charles F. Lummis, C. E. S. Wood, Isador Strauss, Samuel Bowles and Josephine Shaw Lowell.

Testimony to the value of the work of the Anti-Imperialist League by members of the party which it has been called upon to oppose has not been lacking. At a meeting with a small group of Anti-Imperialists Mr. Taft voluntarily stated that the League had done a good work by its critical attitude, in giving the Philippines a better and purer administration than would have been the case without its existence. A distinguished Republican official says: "It (the League) has served a most useful purpose in checking any abuse of power on the part of our own country." The President of the United States in his last message to Congress, while encouraging the hope of Philippine independence within one generation instead of the two or three which was the former minimum limit, has exalted the Anti-Imperialists from the classification of "traitors," to which they were inured, to that of "doctrinaires"—or idealists—which, despite its intent, is the best possible tribute from one who reckons himself among the "practical men" whose scorn is so often the highest praise.

The motto of the League during the whole of the last ten years has been "Fiat Lux," in the belief that the light of knowledge must finally bring the Republic back to its true mind and its righteous attitude. The League meets the conditions of the time with a definite programme, but in public as in private life no new depart-

ure can ignore past evil doing, the very roots of which must be exterminated. No permanent structure can be reared upon rotten foundations.

In a brief history of the League its labors are reviewed to uncover wrongs, the knowledge of which has been essential to leaven public opinion and to control the policy of the future. The records of this work are authenticated by trustworthy testimony and can be consulted in the archives of the League and in its publications. Let no hasty denial from any quarter hinder an inquirer from obtaining the full satisfaction which he may thus obtain.

Wide publication has been made of the fact that General Stewart L. Woodford's successful diplomatic efforts had induced Spain to promise the grant of all the concessions demanded by Cuba, after a short delay to placate the Spanish people. Had the true state of affairs been made clear to Congress, as Secretary of State Sherman said, "we could have adjusted difficulties without the loss of our blood or treasure."

President McKinley stated in his message of March 28, 1898, that the Maine was sent to Havana in accordance with the desire of our consular representatives. The then Secretary of the Navy within a very few weeks has repeated his assertion that the Maine was sent at the request of Consul General Lee; that she was to remain at Key West "till Lee should order her from Key West, which he did, and she didn't go till he did." The League has given wide circulation to the official record of Consul Fitzhugh Lee's testimony before the Court of Naval Commissioners on the explosion of the Maine, in which he testified that he had been informed that it was the intention of the government to send the Maine to the port of Havana and that he had at once telegraphed the State Department January 24, 1898, "Advise visit be postponed six or seven days to give last excitement more time to disappear," and that the next day he sent another dispatch to the State Department, "At an interview authorities profess to think United States has ulterior purpose in sending ship, say it will

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